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NEW YORK TIMES  
13 NOVEMBER 1978

# C.I.A. Analyst Forced Out for Giving Senator Secret Data

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

A strategic analyst for the Central Intelligence Agency was forced to resign last summer after confessing that he had supplied copies of top-secret C.I.A. reports on strategic arms limitation talks to a key staff aide of Senator Henry M. Jackson, a leading Senate critic of the current arms negotiations, Administration and intelligence sources said.

The analyst, David S. Sullivan, admitted passing the documents to Richard Perle, Senator Jackson's aide for disarmament matters, after being ordered to take a lie detector test, the Government sources said. Mr. Sullivan now is working as an adviser on the arms talks and other issues for Senator Lloyd Bentsen, Democrat of Texas.

Admiral Stansfield Turner, Director of Central Intelligence, was described by associates as being outraged by Mr. Sullivan's "insubordination" — as one official put it — as well as the decision of Senator Jackson, Democrat of Washington, and Mr. Perle, who have high security clearances, to receive the working-level documents. The Sullivan materials included some of the Government's most closely held information on sources and methods of obtaining information about the Soviet Union, Government officials said.

In recent conversations, some officials involved in the arms limitation talks depicted Mr. Sullivan's act as an example of the kind of "hardball" — as one senior official said — that will be played next year over the pending ratification of a new arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union. Other officials saw the C.I.A.'s decision not to seek further sanctions against Mr. Sullivan, who recently was issued top-secret clearances by the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy, as an example of a double standard on the part of the Carter Administration in so-called "whistle-blowing" cases, in which Government employees make public what they consider to be wrongdoing or incompetence. The Administration chose to file a civil suit against Frank Snapp, a former C.I.A. employee with a liberal point of view who wrote a book on his experiences in Vietnam without C.I.A. clearance.

## Jackson Urged to Dismiss Aide

Admiral Turner has met at least twice with Senator Jackson since Mr. Sullivan left the agency last Aug. 25, officials said, and urged him to dismiss Mr. Perle. "That's what we did on our end," one source quoted the Admiral as telling the Senator, in effect, "and that's what you should do on your end."

Senator Jackson and Mr. Perle have apologized to Admiral Turner for their part in receiving the documents, which

were returned to the C.I.A., the sources said.

Mr. Jackson, who was said late last week to be on vacation somewhere in California, could not be located by a reporter for comment. Mr. Perle, reached yesterday at his home in Washington, refused to comment on his role. "I don't have anything to say," he said. "Frankly, I don't think there's much of a story."

One Government official explained that Admiral Turner was unable to do more than dismiss Mr. Sullivan for insubordination and issue a subsequent letter of reprimand because no federal law had been violated by Mr. Sullivan's decision to pass the documents to Mr. Perle and Senator Jackson.

## Debate on Ratification Expected

The Sullivan affair is widely known among top disarmament officials in the Carter Administration, who are now concluding negotiations with the Soviet Union on a new disarmament agreement. If such an agreement is reached by next year, there is expected to be a major debate on the issue when the accord comes up for ratification by the Senate.

The documents passed by Mr. Sullivan were described as analyses he had made of Soviet intentions regarding the strategic arms negotiations. Mr. Sullivan, who has told friends he worked four years on the papers, received permission last month from the C.I.A. to publish an unclassified version of his research. In one such paper, to be published in the Winter, 1978, edition of the magazine Strategic Review, Mr. Sullivan argues that "the Soviets have used the SALT negotiating process as a smokescreen behind which to conceal their increasing strategic superiority from a complacent U.S." SALT is the abbreviation used for the strategic arms limitation talks.

Mr. Sullivan further says that the United States has been losing ground strategically since 1963 in terms of the size of its nuclear arsenal compared to that of the Soviet Union, a retreat that he said was sanctioned in the arms limitation agreement in 1972 negotiated by President Nixon and Henry A. Kissinger, then Mr. Nixon's national security adviser.

Friends of Mr. Sullivan said in recent interviews that the former C.I.A. analyst is convinced that the classified materials he supplied to Senator Jackson and Mr. Perle contained proof — as gleaned from highly classified sources — that the Soviet Union deceived the United States during the 1972 negotiations and is continuing its deception in the current negotiations.

In turning over the materials to Mr. Jackson and Mr. Perle, the friends said, Mr. Sullivan understood that the two men would make use of the intelligence data

during the public debate on the expected new agreements next year.

Friends of Mr. Sullivan explain that the C.I.A. analyst, who is 35 years old, initially met Mr. Perle early this year during a seminar on strategic disarmament at the C.I.A. headquarters in Virginia. They subsequently became friends and it was to Mr. Perle that Mr. Sullivan brought his highly classified materials. The papers contained eight different codeword categories of intelligence above top secret.

Mr. Sullivan's view, as explained to his friends, is that he had become convinced that the C.I.A. was deliberately suppressing the intelligence data he had accumulated and analyzed because of Admiral Turner's reluctance to pursue viewpoints detrimental to a new treaty, one of President Carter's highest priorities in the next year.

Other Government officials noted that Mr. Sullivan's paper subsequently was published as a low-level working document by the C.I.A. and disseminated, on a narrowly restricted basis, to some members of the intelligence community. When top C.I.A. officials learned that Mr. Perle and Senator Jackson had unauthorized copies of the documents, Mr. Sullivan was ordered to take a lie detector test. Before doing so, however, sources said, Mr. Sullivan admitted what he had done to his superiors in the C.I.A.'s Office of Strategic Research.

Government officials said that Admiral Turner decided to dismiss Mr. Sullivan after discussing the issue with him on Aug. 24 and 25. The Admiral concluded, a source said, "that Sullivan just didn't understand the gravity of what he'd done." Before the Admiral had a chance to act during the meeting, the source added, Mr. Sullivan "pulled out a letter of resignation."

The C.I.A. perhaps could have taken more severe sanctions against Mr. Sullivan, the official added, but "to do more, they'd have to take on Jackson and they were afraid to do it."

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